

Message Text

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FOR HODDING CARTER FROM S/PRS - FRED BROWN

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)

SUBJECT: PRESS REPORTS: SULZBERGER ON SUMMIT

NO. 7

1. HEREWITH THE FULL TEXT OF ARTICLE BY C.L. SULZBERGER
APPEARING NEW YORK TIMES MAY 7 ENTITLED "NUCLEAR GAMES AT
THE SUMMIT."

2. BEGIN TEXT:

-- LONDON--PRESIDENT CARTER RIGHTLY RECOGNIZES BOTH THE
DANGERS AND BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AS FAR AS POTENTIAL
WARTIME AND PEACETIME USAGE IS CONCERNED, BUT HE WILL
HAVE TO PROVE HIMSELF MORE PEACEMAKER THAN PACEMAKER IF HE
IS TO GAIN ANY SUBSTANTIAL HARMONY AT THIS WEEKEND'S
LONDON SUMMIT.

-- ALMOST CERTAINLY THE MOST EXPLOSIVE CONCRETE SUBJECT
IS THAT TO BE DISCUSSED IN NUCLEAR TALKS AMONG THE AMERICAN
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CHIEF OF STATE, HIS FRENCH ANALOGUE, VALERY GISCARD D'ESTAING,
AND WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR HELMUT SCHMIDT, BRITISH PRIME
MINISTER JAMES CALLAGHAN WILL BE PRESENT BUT RELATIVELY
SUBDUED.

- FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY ARE QUARRELING OPENLY WITH
THE UNITED STATES ON THIS AND PRIVATELY WITH EACH OTHER.

THE LATTER PRIVATE QUARREL IS MORE DANGEROUS TO WESTERN UNITY THAN THE PUBLICIZED DISPUTE WITH WASHINGTON. FOR THE FRENCH ARE BEGINNING TO MUTTER THAT THE GERMANS ARE EDGING TOWARD A CAPABILITY OF ATOMIC ARMS MANUFACTURE, WHICH COULD ATTAIN AN EDGE OVER FRANCE AND ADD TO THEIR ALREADY ASCENDANT CONVENTIONAL FORCES, TO SAY NOTHING OF ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL ADVANTAGES.

- DESPITE RESTRICTIONS ACCEPTED BY THE FEDERAL GERMAN GOVERNMENT ON MANUFACTURE AND/OR POSSESSION OF ATOMIC WARHEADS, THIS TOPIC HAS ALWAYS BEEN DELICATE IN PARIS-BONN RELATIONS. IN DECEMBER 1957, JACQUES CHABAN-DELMAS, THEN DEFENSE MINISTER IN THE FOURTH REPUBLIC GOVERNMENT OF FELIX GAILLARD, PROPOSED A SECRET BILATERAL DEAL TO FRANZ-JOSEF STRAUSS, CHANCELLOR ADENAUER'S DEFENSE MINISTER.

- MR. CHABAN ASKED MR. STRAUSS FOR ASSURANCES OF GERMAN SUPPORT IN DEVELOPING A FRENCH NUCLEAR FORCE, PROMISING ACCESS TO THE RESULTING WEAPONS IN EXCHANGE. STRAUSS AGREED AND PARIS BELIEVES ADENAUER WAS FULLY AU COURANT.

- IN JULY 1958, SHORTLY AFTER THE FOURTH REPUBLIC DISINTEGRATED, MR. STRAUSS RAISED THE MATTER WITH CHARLES DE GAULLE'S FIRST DEFENSE MINISTER, PIERRE GUILLAUMAT. MR. GUILLAUMAT BRUSQUELY TURNED MR. STRAUSS'S INQUIRIES ASIDE. A SENIOR FRENCH DIPLOMAT WAS LATER SENT TO THE GERMAN DEFENSE MINISTER TO EXPLAIN THAT FRANCE WOULD NOT EMBARK ON A SECRET BILATERAL NUCLEAR PROJECT WITH BONN UNCLASSIFIED

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THAT WOULD RISK POISONING RELATIONS WITH WASHINGTON. THE DEAL WAS DEAD.

- DE GAULLE, OF COURSE, WENT AHEAD WITH THE ATOMIC FORCE DE FRAPPE THAT THE FOURTH REPUBLIC'S LEADERS FIRST BLUEPRINTED AFTER THEIR HUMILIATION IN THE 1956 SUEZ WAR. BUT BONN STAYED WHOLLY OUT OF THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FIELD.

- A SPECIAL FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO OLD ENEMIES FEATURED DE GAULLE'S EUROPEAN OUTLOOK AND WAS CONTINUED--WITH LESS ENTHUSIASM--BY GEORGES POMPIDOU AND NOW GISCARD D'ESTAING. WHAT WILL BE PUT TO THE TEST BEHIND THE SCENES AT THE SUMMIT IS THE REMAINDER OF THAT POLICY.

- BOTH FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY HAVE INCURRED OPPOSITION FROM THE UNITED STATES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE PLANS TO SELL

PAKISTAN AND BRAZIL URANIUM-ENRICHMENT AND FUEL-REPROCESSING PLANTS THAT COULD PRODUCE PLUTONIUM, THE MOST COMMON

EXPLOSIVE IN H-BOMB WARHEADS. THE GERMAN-BRAZILIAN CONTRACT WAS SIGNED IN 1975 AND THE FRENCH-PAKISTAN ONE IN 1976.

- SINCE HIS INAUGURATION MR CARTER HAS STEPPED UP UNITED STATES OPPOSITION TO THESE DEALS, INSISTING INADEQUATE INTERNATIONAL SAFEGUARDS ARE PROVIDED TO PREVENT MILITARY MANUFACTURES.

- MR. SCHMIDT, ALREADY IRKED BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S "HUMAN RIGHTS" FOREIGN POLICY, ECONOMIC PRODDING AND REFUSAL TO ACCEPT A GERMAN GUN FOR NATO'S NEXT HEAVY TANK, HAS FINALLY TURNED DOWN WASHINGTON. FRANCE HAS TAKEN NO FORMAL STEP BUT MIGHT YET CANCEL THE REPROCESSING ASPECT OF ITS PAKISTANI ACCORD.

- ONE EUROPEAN ARGUMENT AGAINST U.S. EFFORTS TO RESTRICT PLUTONIUM AS AN ENERGY SOURCE IS THAT EUROPE'S URANIUM SUPPLIES ARE FAR SMALLER THAN NORTH AMERICA'S. IT HOPES

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BREEDER REACTORS THAT PRODUCE PLUTONIUM WILL LESSEN DEPENDENCE ON AMERICAN URANIUM.

- HOWEVER, WHASHINGTON FEELS A PARTICULAR TROUBLE WITH THE PAKISTAN AND BRAZIL DEALS IS THAT THE FORMER WANTS NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO COUNTER ARGENTINA'S STRIDES IN THAT DIRECTION (AIDED BY INDIAN SCIENTISTS).

- MR. CARTER PROMISES TO SUPPLY NATIONS ACCEPTING HIS REPROCESSING RESTRICTIONS WITH SUFFICIENT AND ENRICHED URANIUM TO MEET THEIR NEEDS. WEST GERMANY RESENTS THIS AS DEPENDENCE ON AMERICA, AS DO MANY NATIONALISTIC FRENCH-MEN, ESPECIALLY GAULLISTS, WITH WHOM GISCARD IS QUARRELING ALTHOUGH DEPENDS ON THEIR POLITICAL SUPPORT IN NEXT YEAR'S ELECTIONS.

- TO CATER TO GAULLISM, MR. GISCARD REFUSED TO ATTEND MR. CALLAGHAN'S WORKING DINNER FOR SUMMIT LEADERS ON THE GROUND THAT ROY JENKINS, PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMISSION, WAS PRESENT WITH IMPLIED "CHIEF OF GOVERNMENT"

STATUS.

- WHETHER AMERICAN'S DIPLOMACY CAN SMOOTH THIS NASTY
HODGEPODGE OF U.S. ARGUMENT'S WITH FRANCE AND WEST GERMANY
AND FRENCH QUARRELS WITH AND FEAR OF THE GERMANS IS
UNCERTAIN. AND MR. CARTER'S EFFORT TO FIND OUT WHAT
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EUROPE WANTS IS LIKELY TO BE CONFUSED BY THE DISCOVERY THAT
DIFFERENT VOICES WILL BE ASKING FOR VERY DIFFERENT THINGS.
END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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